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# S P E E C H

OF

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On the Results of the War--The Position of Parties and Reconstruction of Rebel States.

Delivered in Rouse's Hall, Peoria, Oct. 21, 1865.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: It is said that the rebellion is over; that the war is ended. It is true that the clash of arms has ended; that the roar of artillery is heard no more; that the rattle of musketry has ceased; and that the flow of blood has been stanch'd; but is the war at a end? The armies of the rebellion have been crushed—annihilated, by the heroism of our loyal armies. The *physical* power of the rebels has been broken; but has the *demoniacal spirit* of rebellion and treason which fed and directed the rebellion been sub'dued? Until we can say that it has, we cannot truly say that the war has ended. The rebels, foiled in their devilish scheme to dissolve the Union by force of arms, and establish upon its dishonored ruins, an empire whose cornerstone should be human slavery, will summon all their energies to accomplish the same object by their political power. If we suffer them to accomplish this design, the war will have been in vain. Better, far better, to have acknowledged the right of secession, and the rebel government, at the outset, and have saved the enormous outlay of money and the shedding of so much precious blood. We must not fail to gather the fruit of our great victory. It is not enough, then, that we have whipped and subjugated the rebels on the field of battle; that we have ground the rebellion to powder—we *must prevent its return*. We have the power and the legal constitutional right to do it, and posterity will justly hold us responsible for a second rebellion should we fail now to thoroughly eradicate from the people of the rebel States the *spirit* of rebellion, secession and treason, which lay at the foundation of their late fiendish struggle.

This spirit of rebellion is the offspring of slavery. Slavery, then, must be abolished in every State, and freedom must be universal and eternal. There must be no power left in any State to re-establish slavery. No rebel State must be restored to "harmonious relations" with the general government,

until it has ratified the Constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery forever, nor until it has, in addition, by its own Constitution, prohibited the institution for all time.

Before the rebellion, Congress nor the President had the power (and by power I mean the Constitutional power) to interfere with slavery, nor any other purely local institution within any of the States; but how is it now, so far as the States are concerned, which constituted the so-called Confederate Government? Has Congress acquired any extension of powers, or simply called into exercise a latent power by reason of the rebellion, and have the rebels lost any of their former Constitutional rights by reason of their treason? In order to answer these questions, we must inquire into the nature of the rebellion, and the character of the late Confederate Government.

It is admitted by all candid men, that the Southern people rebelled and inaugurated war without justifiable cause. The people of those States which adopted secession ordinances were never denied by the Government the exercise of any of their Constitutional rights. They were never oppressed. They were never denied protection. In truth, they monopolized the favors of Government, and exercised its powers for their own aggrandizement. They had no cause of complaint.

They rebelled in favor of the despotism of slavery. They had no fault to find with the government. It had done all that they had asked—the government had no ideas in antagonism to their ideas. But there was a power within the jurisdiction of the government that gave them cause of alarm—that filled them with an indescribable terror: and that power was the power of the Northern idea, in favor of universal liberty. This is what "precipitated the cotton States into revolution." The idea entertained by the rebels that slavery was a divine institution, met an unflinching opponent in the idea entertained by the loyal

men of the North, that liberty was a divine institution, and that slavery was a monstrous and unmitigated evil. The idea entertained by the rebels that slavery was a blessing to the black and white races, especially the black, met an uncompromising opponent in the idea entertained by the loyal men of the North that slavery was a hideous curse to the black and white races, especially to both. With these ideas on the one side, and the additional idea that secession was a constitutional right, the rebels went to war to overthrow the Union and confirm slavery; and the loyal liberty-loving people of the North accepted the issue and went to war to maintain the Union and to confirm liberty. This war, then, has been in a great measure one of ideas. The rebels threw down the gage of battle for their ideas—the patriots took up the gage for their ideas, and before we can properly say that the war is ended, our ideas must triumph over their ideas. We may demolish the windmill, but the wind may remain. Our artillery, our muskets, our arms may triumph over theirs, but their ideas may remain. We may win the physical victory, but they may win the victory of ideas. The physical war may be ended, but the war of ideas is upon us still, and in this conflict we must be triumphant or those grand victories won at Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Gettysburg, Mission Ridge, Chattanooga and in the dreary depths of the Wilderness, by the invincible and unconquerable heroes of the Union, will turn to bitter ashes on our lips. The army has done its part, and done it nobly and well. Now let Congress do its part as well, and the whole country will be covered with glory, and the grand republic will be radiant with universal liberty. [Applause.]

In the latter part of the year 1861, and early in the year 1862, most of the slaveholding States in their several conventions declared that their relations to the government of the United States had ceased: They proceeded at once to form what they termed the "Southern Confederacy." They formed and adopted a constitution. They elected a President and a Congress. They established a judiciary. They raised an army and created a navy. They possessed legislative executive and judicial powers. So far as forms were concerned, they made unto themselves a government, and had we "let them alone" in their infancy, it would remain "even unto this day." They declared that they were a separate and independent government, and, to maintain this declaration, they summoned immense armies and such navies as they had to their aid. In fact, they did all that a recognized and independent government could have done. They issued letters of marque and reprisal,

and their pirates were recognized and protected by foreign governments as privateers. They claimed the character and the rights pertaining and belonging to a *de facto* government, and this claim was acceded to, not only by foreign governments, but by our own. They claimed the character and rights belonging to a belligerent power, and this claim was allowed them by our own and foreign governments. They claimed that they were an alien enemy to the United States, and our government acceded to this claim also. All these demands were acquiesced in by our government during the continuance of actual war; but now that they have been whipped and subjugated, they wish to deny the real character they made for themselves during four years of cruel, bloody and atrocious war, and now ask that they may be regarded merely in the light of "wayward sisters," so that they may be permitted to creep back into the Union which they moved heaven and earth to destroy, without losing any of their rights, or incurring any of the forfeitures or penalties of their treason and rebellion. And that same copperhead-democratic party, which sympathized with them during the war, and did so much to aid them, and discourage and embarrass us—that same party which sainted Vallandigham, and traduced and slandered our true and noble-hearted Lincoln—that same party which despised our soldiers and called them hirelings and murderers; that belittled our victories and magnified the victories of the rebels; that swore we could never whip the chivalrous South, and that we ought not to whip them; that threatened that they "would start a fire in the rear of our troops" (of course they would never start one in the front)—that same party that declared in their Chicago Convention that the war was a failure, and loudly called for a cessation of hostilities and an armistice, (at a time, too, when final speedy and complete victory was at hand, and they knew it,) so that they might again embrace their Southern brethren in a "Convention of all the States"—that same party which resisted the draft, and shot down Provost Marshals and soldiers detailed to enforce the law; that organized the Knights of the Golden Circle in aid of the rebellion; that refused, in our State and all other States controlled by them, to allow the soldiers to vote in the field, and did many other outrageous and detestable things, all against our government and our army, and in aid of the savage rebellion—I have not the time to enumerate them all—lend wings to your imaginations and darkness to your souls and you will not do them injustice;—this party, of course, asks that they, the rebels, be so regarded, and restored to all their original rights under "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was,"—

For one, I am not in favor of thus regarding them and restoring them to all their original rights within the Union, as though there had been no rebellion—no *de facto* Confederate government. [Applause.]

So far as our rights, and their rights, under the law are concerned, I have no doubt but we have the right to treat them as an alien enemy, conquered by the United States government; that they have only the rights belonging to the vanquished and we have all the rights belonging to the victors. Had the rebellion been so insignificant in point of numbers and power that our government could have suppressed it with only ordinary effort, and within the space of a few months, and had not been compelled from the necessity of the case to enter into a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and had not from the same cause respected their flags of truce, and also from the like cause recognized their so-called pirates as privateers, then the rights of the government to treat the vanquished rebels as alien enemies conquered and subjugated, would not exist. In such case the government could only try the offenders under the law of the land for their treason. They could not be treated as alien enemies under the laws of war.

Vattel and other eminent writers on the law of nations lay down the doctrine that there may be a time when rebels cease to be mere rebels and become public enemies, entitled to belligerent rights. This depends upon the number and power of the rebels. If the rebellion be sufficiently powerful to make head against the government, being able to dispute the occupation of the territory with the government by the force of arms, then the laws of humanity and the law of nations declare that the rebels shall be treated as a public enemy, entitled to belligerent rights; that their prisoners shall be treated as prisoners of war—not as rebels—and respect shall be paid to their flags of truce. The war then, when it has assumed these proportions and aspects, should in all respects be conducted as though the parties to it had originally been independent nations.

We could not try the rebel privateers which we captured for piracy on the high seas, because they were protected by letters of marque and reprisal from the rebel government. The war between the government and the rebels was carried on in most respects, and could lawfully have been in all, as though we had been at war with England. During the progress of the rebellion, the rebels had absolutely no rights under our Constitution. They had only such rights as they were entitled to under the laws of war. Now that their armies have been broken and overthrown, and their military power dissipated, is it to be said that

they are to be restored to all their former rights; that they are again to be taken into full fellowship; that there is to be one grand fraternal embrace between loyal and disloyal, between patriot and rebel? If this is to be, then in the sacred name of the heroic sons of the Republic who are now mouldering into impalpable dust on the many battle fields of this war, wait till the living rebels have had time to wash the patriot blood from their traitorous hands. [Applause.] It will make you shudder to see this blood. The grass is not yet green on their graves. Wait till the earth above them is covered with verdure before you embrace their murderers. [Sensation.]

One of the greatest dangers which beset us, is in making too great haste to bring the rebel States into "harmonious relations" with the general government. They ought to have time to cool, to reflect, to repent. They fought us like demons for four years to keep out of "harmonious relations," and now, if necessary for the good of the Republic, they ought to be kept out four years more. [Applause.] It would do them good. Their cure must be radical and complete. The prodigal son did not return to his father until after he had eaten of the husks. The right of self defence carries with it, and implies, the right of self preservation. We must make the future secure. [Applause.] We have had all the rebellion we can withstand. We will have no more. We must root up and destroy all causes of rebellion. This pestilent doctrine of State Sovereignty must only have a place among the relics of the rebellion. Do not confound State Sovereignty with State rights. The distinction is very broad. The term Sovereignty means supreme power—uncontrolled power. There is no limitation of power. State Sovereignty means that the State is supreme; that it possesses uncontrolled power, which of course includes the right or power of secession. If then Sovereignty belongs to the State, we have no nation, we are merely a people without a nationality. By State rights is meant such rights as "are reserved to the States" under the Constitution. These rights must remain inviolable. State Sovereignty is not one of these reserved rights.

There are now two plans of reconstruction put forward. One is, that the rebel States have lost none of their ancient rights; that they should at once be brought into "harmonious relations" with the government; be represented again in Congress; should be relieved from confiscation and the Freedmen's Bureau; that all interference by the government in their States should cease; and, in fact, that they should be unrestrained and left free to do just as they please. The copperhead party is in favor of this plan. Should this plan be adopted, they

look forward "to the good time coming", when Davis and Buchanan shall shake hands again over "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was." The other is to treat the rebels as an alien enemy—a public enemy. The rebels compelled us to treat them as such for four years. How then can they complain if we should compel them to accept the legitimate results of the character they made for themselves? Confiscate the estates of the leading rebels, and out of the proceeds pay the national debt, and increase the pensions of the soldiers and the widows, and create a fund for their orphans [applause]; and only restore the rebel people when they are willing to admit the triumph of the *ideas* upon which the war was prosecuted upon our part, and to incorporate them into their organic laws. The Union party is in favor of this plan.

Congress has complete jurisdiction over the States lately in rebellion, and should see to it that only republican governments, in form and in fact, shall be established therein under the constitution; and Congress should enforce therein the immutable truths "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." [Applause.] It is the bounden duty of Congress under the constitution to guarantee a republican form of government to every State in the Union, or which may hereafter be admitted into the Union.

Congress must require in the reconstruction of any rebel State the absolute extermination of slavery, and also the barbarisms of slavery. There must be no reconstruction that does not recognize the immutable truth that all men are equal before the law. The application of this truth, as a fundamental principle, in the government of the Catholic Church, is the true secret of its power. Its members are all equal—in the church. The prince and the peasant—the gentleman rich and the humble poor, are all equals there, without regard to color. On the by side they kneel before the same altar. The theory of the British government emanates from this principle. Hence sufferings, miseries and distractions of Ireland. There must not be one law for the white and another law for the black man. The law that protects or punishes one, must protect or punish the other. It was not till we had been engaged in this gigantic struggle for nearly two years that the people got their eyes open to the great fact that the war was in the main a war of ideas. The South, blinded by slave-hood and passion and malice, grasped the sword to fight against the onward march of the great ideas, as though such ideas could be opposed or stayed in their onward march. The war was a war for the civilization and elevation of man,

kind. They hanged John Brown, but his ideas went "marching on." They murdered Elijah P. Lovejoy, but his ideas were immortal; [Applause.] and they have been "marching on" for thirty years, battling oppression, superstition and tyranny, and they will go forward to the grand day of their final triumph. [Applause.] The rebels resorted to physical means—they erected barriers to oppose the progress of ideas. Their physical means have been destroyed; their barriers have been broken down, and the ideas, gathering strength from the power of the opposition, went "marching on" [applause]—and they will march on till that great and divine truth is recognized and acquiesced in—that "all men are created equal," and that equal and exact justice shall be meted out to all men. [Applause.] Now that we have learned, at so great cost, this fact, there must be no letting up—no backing down, until we have made this nation one homogeneous people, with governments founded on the natural equality of all men. [Continued applause.]

During the progress of the war, President Lincoln, as a necessary means for the suppression of the slaveholders' rebellion, issued a proclamation declaring their slaves forever free. God bless his sainted memory for that proclamation! [Applause.] We gave the freedmen muskets, and they fought with heroic valor against their late masters. They have won their share of the glory in the conquest of the South. They fought well, and there was not a disloyal one among them all. With insolent, perfidious and cruel masters and traitors around and over them, their hearts were undaunted, and they rendered us all the aid in their power. They gave us, freely, invaluable service in maintaining the Union; and the government, in return, gave them that divine, but long-deferred boon—liberty. And now the government must defend and protect them in the enjoyment of that liberty. [Applause.] It must not leave it to the "clemency" of their late masters, who would, unrestrained, forge for them the galling fetters and shackles, and trample their sacred rights into the dust. Woe be to this nation if it turns a deaf ear to the voice of humanity and justice! The government is bound to do whatever is necessary for their protection. It must not leave them to the "tender mercies" of the rebels.

In order to accomplish this, one of three things, in my opinion, should be done. The basis of representation should be changed from population to electors, so that the representatives in Congress shall be apportioned among the several States according to the number of electors for the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures. Otherwise, on the present basis, we will

reward the South for its treason and perfidy, by giving them some fifteen additional Congressmen. This change can be accomplished by amending the Constitution. Or, if Congress will disfranchise the rebels, and make loyalty the condition for the exercise of the elective franchise—all will be well. But if all rebels are allowed to vote, there will be no enduring peace for the country nor safety for the Union or the Freedmen. Congress may exercise this power so long as the rebel States remain in a quasi territorial condition; but when they are "reconstructed" and re-admitted, then this power ceases, and a reconstructed State will possess the same power over the elective franchise that Illinois does. It is difficult to say, at this time, what measures are necessary to secure liberty and justice to the Freedmen; but whatever is necessary will be done. [Applause.]

After a careful investigation of all the various plans proposed for reconstructing the rebel States, I see no one which presents so few difficulties, or which promises results so satisfactory, or which so fully guarantees the preservation of the Union, the establishment of enduring peace on the basis of universal liberty and justice,—as that plan which proposes that Congress shall declare that the rebels are alien enemies—a conquered public enemy. I have shown the legal right in Congress to exercise this power; and that it ought to exercise it, I have but little doubt. Had the United States been at war with Great Britain, and had our armies driven the last vestige of British authority from the American continent—in such case, how would we treat the provinces of Canada? There is but one answer to the question—simply as alien enemies. Congress would make laws and establish governments for them. The Canadians would be entitled only to the rights of the vanquished. Why, then, should we treat with such clemency and tenderness those, who, owing allegiance to this government, foreswore their allegiance, and made war upon us for four long years; to destroy a government which had never denied them a right, or scarcely a favor? By declaring them alien enemies, and excluding them from participation in the government—whose very existence would be in imminent danger by restoring them that political power which they would use only for its destruction—Congress would make laws for their regulation until such time as they could be safely trusted with the exercise of the functions pertaining to civil government. Then they would naturally and rightfully come into "harmonious relations" with the general government upon an equal footing with the other States.

In the idea that the Southern States have

never been out of, but are still in the Union, is correct; where does the President get the authority and the right to appoint Military or Provisional Governors for such States? What necessity was there for such States to hold conventions and repeal their ordinances of secession, or declare them void, and frame and adopt new constitutions? Why is it that the President does not appoint a Provisional Governor for Illinois? You answer, Illinois has always been a loyal State *within the Union*, and has the right to elect her own Governor; and should the President interfere you would denounce it as a usurpation and an outrage. States *within the Union* are equals. The President has no more power over one than another. If South Carolina is a State within the Union, it is within the Union under the Constitution, and is the equal of any of the States, and is entitled to all the Constitutional rights of any other State—among which are the rights to elect a Governor, a Legislature, send Representatives to Congress, and manage generally its own local institutions in its own way under the Constitution. It follows, then, that the President, in his exercise of authority over the Southern States, is acting upon the assumption that the rebels are alien enemies—a conquered enemy, and entitled only to such rights as are accorded by civilized nations to a subjugated people, and in this I endorse him most fully.

Since the last adjournment of Congress the military power of the rebellion received its death blow. In the recess of Congress the President found himself with a conquered people on his hands; and from the very necessity of the case, as the Chief Executive of the Nation, and the Commander-in-chief of its armies, he has assumed the direction and control of affairs within the rebel States. He has conferred upon them the right to hold conventions with the view to their restoration as States *within the Union*. If they prove themselves worthy of this confidence, and of the confidence of the whole people, as regards their loyalty, and their devotion to republican government, and republican institutions, and to the principles of justice between man and man, it is expected that Congress will re-admit them into the Union. But if the Southern people, by their acts, fail to inspire this confidence, Congress will consider this "experiment of reconstruction" a failure, and reject their claim for admission, and hold them in abeyance until such time as they can be restored with safety to the nation's honor and its perpetuity.

The copperheads say that it is safe to rust them now. I must confess, however, that that they have given but little evidence to justify the assertion. In none of their States have they ratified

the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. They have not recognized the freedman as possessing "any rights which the white man is bound to respect." In some of their conventions they have abolished slavery—*by words*. By the same power they can re-establish it to-morrow. If they are sincere in regard to the abolition of slavery, why do they not ratify the constitutional amendment abolishing and prohibiting slavery forever? The reason is obvious. If that amendment should be ratified and become a part of the Constitution, their power over the subject would cease forever. This is just what they are determined to defeat.

In the South Carolina Convention a resolution was introduced to the effect that a committee be appointed to wait upon the President and ask him to pardon "our former noble and beloved chief magistrate, Jefferson Davis, who is now languishing in prison, while the fanatics of the North, not satisfied with the wide-spread ruin and desolation which they have caused, are shrieking for his blood." Mr. Coleman, late a Captain in the rebel army, asserted in the Alabama Convention that "the morality of slavery need not be discussed before a convention of Southern gentlemen. He read his Bible, and he conscientiously believed in slavery."

In Louisiana there is a military school which has been, until recently, and since the conquest of that State, under the superintendence of Union professors; but the rebels having resumed partial control of the State, at once deposed the Union professors, and installed three rebel officers in their stead. Is this calculated to inspire our confidence? The Democratic Convention—what democracy!—lately held in Louisiana, passed almost unanimously, and with great applause, a resolution calling upon the President to pardon Jeff Davis. They might, with equal propriety and fitness, have included the name of the infamous Wirz.

These are but a few of the evidences showing the sentiments and feelings of the Southern people. When you have overcome and disarmed the assassin, will you restore him his dagger? When you have caught the incendiary, will you load him down with combustibles and let him go? When you have overcome an enemy, equalled only in his gigantic power by his savage cruelty, will you release him and augment his power, so that in the next conflict he may be the victor and you the vanquished? You will not, if you are wise. When you have the monster down, keep him down, until he is rendered powerless for further mischief. [Applause.] Like Sampson, they have been shorn of their power, and are perhaps, only, awaiting a renewal of their

strength. Let us not lead them too soon to the pillars of the temple of liberty. It is for you, the *people*, to determine which of these parties you will support—which of these parties you will trust with the destiny of the republic. If you are patriotic and honest, you will sustain that party which will the most certainly promote the prosperity of the country, sustain its honor and aggrandize its glory.

In order that you may form a correct judgment of the character and merits of the two parties that ask for your support, it is well to review the history and the record they have made for themselves, and by it let them be judged, their character and merits estimated, and their claims upon you for support be determined. In 1860, the Democratic party was in power, and had control of the general government. It was then that the Southern leaders of the Democratic party plotted their foul treason and concocted their schemes of rebellion.—It was then that Buchanan, the Chief Executive of the nation, and the head of the Democratic party, proclaimed to the world that the United States Government possessed no power to coerce a State. He saw and estimated the powers of the General Government only through the heresy of "State Sovereignty." With him and the Democratic party State Sovereignty was superior to and mightier than National Sovereignty. With him and his party the Union still existed under the old articles of confederation; and so ignoring our present Constitution, and virtually denying its existence, he leaned back in his easy chair, and complacently looked on while traitors combined for the destruction of the Union. The Southern portion of this Democratic party, with a unanimity rarely seen, joined in the treason of their leaders and waged war, barbarous war, for four years against the Government, and at last, being overpowered, they have sullenly accepted the inevitable.—Shall I recur to the sufferings—sufferings unprecedented, borne with a heroism unparalleled in the world's history, by the heroic and immortal defenders of the Union? No language can portray the trials, the hardships and atrocities they endured.—They bared their breasts to the relentless storms of war; they went forward in the face of certain death;—they fell by thousands, on the blood-soaked fields of battle;—they languished and died by thousands in the Southern prison pens. The rebels called to their aid fierce blood-hounds and remorseless starvation, and by starvation thousands upon thousands of our brave boys faded away into the silent land. And now we are asked to trust and restore these demons in human form. God forbid! [Applause.] The blood of our martyred heroes cries to Heaven against it.



This was the work of the Southern wing of the Democratic party. Let us now look at the North wing of that party, and see the part it has played in this bloodiest of tragedies. It declared that the National Government could not coerce a State back into the Union. Had this doctrine been acquiesced in, we would to-day be but a dismembered and dishonored remnant of our former selves. They declared at their Springfield Convention, that a further prosecution of the war only tended to anarchy and misrule, and the subversion of the Government, and that the war ought to stop.—Had their voice been heeded—had their opinions been adopted by the people, the Southern Confederacy would to-day have a name and place among the nations of the earth. At their Chicago convention in 1864, they declared the experiment to restore the Union by war a failure, and they demanded an armistice with the rebellion. Had the people concurred in these opinions—had the people acquiesced in this declaration and demand, our country would now be covered with ruin and with infamy, and Jeff. Davis would this day be sitting in Richmond in the insolence of his pride and power, as the head of the slaveholders' empire. But thank God, the undaunted loyal people of the country could not be deceived. [Applause.] They pressed onward in the grand work of maintaining republican government, until victory crowned our arms, and the old starry banner of our fathers floated in triumph again over every inch of American soil. [Applause.] And now will you restore this Democratic party to power? will you bring these two wings together? If you want the rebellion and slavery to triumph, you will. If you want the Union and liberty to triumph, you will not. [Applause.]

In making your choice as between these parties you will remember that the Southern wing of this democratic party, after having practiced every atrocity that the ingenuity of hate and envy could devise; after having been beaten by the sword to which they had appealed, standing in the presence of universal defeat—stung to madness, they appealed from the sword to the dagger of assassination, struck down the chosen magistrate of a nation and carried us with one blow back to the dark ages of the world. The true people took the great martyr and buried him in their hearts, and there he will remain forever; and they have sworn that the principles for which he died shall be adopted by the Southern people before they shall again become part and parcel of this glorious nation. [Tremendous and long continued applause]

Can you support a party that sustains, in an adjoining State, a paper published by a democrat, which makes use of the follow-

ing language in a late issue in reference to the last and most diabolical act of the rebellion:

"Where is Lincoln, the joking patron saint of niggerism, who owes so much to John Wilkes Booth, and who is well nigh forgotten already, with hardly a dozen in the land to revere his memory?

"Where is Chase?

"Where is Brough?

"Where is that crowd of constitution-breaking, law-despising fungus?

"Gone or going, into oblivion, leaving a nation in tears—a country in ruins—a once happy people in debt and taxation—a treasury once well filled with coin empty, and thousands of millions for us to pay. They have gone to perdition, and their victims are many. They have gone from their field of power.

"Right is again triumphing.

"A Statesman instead of a Clown is now President, and the element which two years since said a President can do no wrong is now arraying itself against the head of the nation, and trying to drive him from the constitution behind which he is entrenched.

"We deprecate assassination, yet we feel to thank God for calling Lincoln home, wherever that home may be."

Great God! how thankful I am that I was not a Democrat during this war! [Applause.]

Let us now for a moment turn to the record of the Union party—a party composed of men from all the old parties—men who loved their country better than their party. They denied that the government had no power to coerce a State. They denied that the further prosecution of the war tended only to anarchy and misrule and the subversion of the government. They denied that the experiment of war to restore the Union was a failure. They declared there should be no cessation of hostilities, no armistice with rebellion, and no "convention of all the States" until the rebels had laid down their arms. And to maintain these issues on their part, they firmly supported the war measures of the administration and pressed forward in the face of the most malignant and unscrupulous political opposition ever encountered in any government.

The year 1862, a year made memorable by our many reverses in the field, was a year of uncommon prosperity to the Democratic party. Their political victories were in the ratio of our military defeats. In that year they thought us defeated because we were prostrated; but like Atreus, the fabled son of the Earth, we were renewing our strength. [Applause.] We suffered reverses, but were not discouraged. Gaining energy and determination from

adversity, and feeling that consciousness of power which springs from battling for the right—inspired by the justness and grandeur of our cause, we pressed onward until we have established the sublime truth, declared by our great martyr, “that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.” [Applause.]

This is one of the majestic results of the war. To even refer to the thousand deeds of our Union party is impossible here. You are familiar with its history and its record. You know with what an energy of devotion it has maintained every thing that is good, and condemned and opposed every thing that is wrong. It is and has been the party of progress. It has and will devote itself to the elevation and amelioration of mankind. And while our brave soldiers have been fighting and dying for the maintenance of the principles of our party, you have sustained and defended them, and rendered them every aid in your power. You have been their *real* friends.

The democratic party hypocritically pretend that they can see no good results of the war. Let us see. The war has given liberty—that inherent birth-right of every man, without distinction of color or race—to *four millions* of people, who had been held in a bondage only equalled in its relentless cruelty by the savage ferocity of its masters. It has forever destroyed the occupation of the auctioneer in human flesh and blood. It has rendered profitless the breeding of bloodhounds. It has secured to the negro the endearments and enjoyments of the family altar. It has guaranteed compensation to labor. It has destroyed an arrogant aristocracy. It has touched the poor white man of the South with that magic wand—liberty. It has spoken in his ear that magic word—education. It has dissipated the clouds of superstition and broken the chains of the tyranny that oppressed them, and it has vindicated the sublime truth “that all men are created equal.” It has demonstrated the power of republican government [Applause.] It has forever refuted that monarchial lie, that a republic does not possess the inherent power of maintaining its own existence. [Applause.] It has

elevated us in our own, and in the estimation of all foreign powers. It has rendered our flag bolier and more august. It has raised us to the position of the first power on the face of the earth. [Applause.] It has annihilated forever that heretical dogma of state “sovereignty,” and it has established the fact that in the air of the western hemisphere there shall float but one flag. [Applause.]

It is for you, the people, to say whether these majestic results of the war shall be maintained. To accomplish these results, the patriotic Democrat and Republican shouldered their muskets, and marched to the field of carnage, and fought with sublime heroism side by side. God and man, kind will bless them forever. And to maintain these results, the patriotic Democrat and Republican should march everywhere to the polls, and together deposit that potent instrument

“—Which falls

As soft as snow-flakes on the sod,  
And executes a freeman's will  
As lightning do the will of God.”

Our government being firmly established upon these great principles, we will have seen but the dawn of its greatness, its glory and its grandeur. The day is not far distant when a hundred millions of people will enjoy the blessings of peace, prosperity and liberty, under the ample folds of our flag Liberty, Intelligence and Fraternity—divine triunity—will then bind the people together in eternal bonds of amity; and with one voice, like a mighty diapason, they will thank the heroic army of freedom that trampled beneath their indignant feet slavery and its legions. Then, the oppressed of the earth, gathering strength, confidence and inspiration from us, will crush despotism and tyranny into dust, and unfurl the emblem of liberty over a redeemed and regenerated world.

“Hasten the day, just heaven!

Accomplish thy design;

And let the blessings thou hast freely given,

Freely on all men shine;

’Till equal rights be equally enjoy’d,

And human power for human good employ’d;

’Till law, and not the sovereign, rule sustain,

And peace and virtue undisputed reign.”

[Thanking the audience for their attention, the speaker retired amid long continued applause.]

BOSTON, March 30, 1865.

DEAR SIR,—I send with this a pamphlet containing the speeches of Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS, also articles from the pens of ELIZUR WRIGHT and WILLIAM HEIGHTON, on the necessity of making all men equal before the law; and ask your careful perusal of it.

Mr. Kelley shows us, that, in the early years of our Government, the free negro was allowed a vote in nearly all the States, including most of the Slave States. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Douglass call attention to the necessity and justice of this measure; and Mr. Wright and Mr. Heighton, to the political and economical considerations that should induce us to grant it.

I am distributing 10,000 copies to antislavery men in all the Free States; but, desiring to increase the number to 100,000 or more, invite you to aid its circulation, on the following plan:—

If you will send me what money you can spare for this object, I will forward you, free of postage, such number as you may send for at the rate of twenty copies for every dollar, or one hundred copies for every four dollars, sent me; which is less than the cost of publication. Or if you will send me names, with post-office address, I will send them direct in your name. If you send me money without specific directions, I will distribute them according to my best ability, and advise you of the distribution when made.

Truly your friend,

GEO. L. STEARNS.





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